

Maine (Mr. KING) and the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MERKLEY) were added as cosponsors of S. 1512, a bill to eliminate discrimination and promote women's health and economic security by ensuring reasonable workplace accommodations for workers whose ability to perform the functions of a job are limited by pregnancy, childbirth, or a related medical condition.

S. 1524

At the request of Mr. BLUNT, the names of the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN) and the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ) were added as cosponsors of S. 1524, a bill to enable concrete masonry products manufacturers to establish, finance, and carry out a coordinated program of research, education, and promotion to improve, maintain, and develop markets for concrete masonry products.

S. 1576

At the request of Mr. LANKFORD, the name of the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. JOHNSON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1576, a bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to prevent fraud by representative payees.

S. 1578

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the name of the Senator from Georgia (Mr. ISAKSON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1578, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to enhance taxpayer rights, and for other purposes.

S. 1598

At the request of Mr. LEE, the names of the Senator from Alabama (Mr. SHELBY), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. THUNE) and the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. LANKFORD) were added as cosponsors of S. 1598, a bill to prevent discriminatory treatment of any person on the basis of views held with respect to marriage.

S. 1631

At the request of Mr. SANDERS, the name of the Senator from Michigan (Ms. STABENOW) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1631, a bill to amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 and the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to modify certain provisions relating to multiemployer pensions, and for other purposes.

S. 1634

At the request of Ms. KLOBUCHAR, the name of the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. FRANKEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1634, a bill to amend the Federal antitrust laws to provide expanded coverage and to eliminate exemptions from such laws that are contrary to the public interest with respect to railroads.

S. 1651

At the request of Mr. BROWN, the names of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ) and the Senator from Vermont (Mr. LEAHY) were added as cosponsors of S. 1651, a bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to repeal the Government pension offset and windfall elimination provisions.

S. 1652

At the request of Mr. CARDIN, the name of the Senator from Florida (Mr.

RUBIO) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1652, a bill to designate an existing Federal officer to coordinate efforts to secure the release of United States persons who are hostages of hostile groups or state sponsors of terrorism, and for other purposes.

S. CON. RES. 4

At the request of Mr. BARRASSO, the name of the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. JOHNSON) was added as a cosponsor of S. Con. Res. 4, a concurrent resolution supporting the Local Radio Freedom Act.

S. RES. 200

At the request of Mrs. FEINSTEIN, the names of the Senator from Florida (Mr. RUBIO), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. MCCAIN) and the Senator from Nevada (Mr. REID) were added as cosponsors of S. Res. 200, a resolution wishing His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama a happy 80th birthday on July 6, 2015, and recognizing the outstanding contributions His Holiness has made to the promotion of nonviolence, human rights, interfaith dialogue, environmental awareness, and democracy.

S. RES. 204

At the request of Mr. CARDIN, the name of the Senator from Michigan (Mr. PETERS) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 204, a resolution recognizing June 20, 2015 as "World Refugee Day".

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. LEAHY (for himself, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. COONS, Mr. REID, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. FRANKEN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mrs. MURRAY, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. BROWN, Mr. CASEY, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. WARNER, Mr. MERKLEY, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. KAINE, Ms. WARREN, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. SANDERS, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, and Mr. WYDEN):

S. 1659. A bill to amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to revise the criteria for determining which States and political subdivisions are subject to section 4 of the Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, this year marks the 50th anniversaries of the March from Selma to Montgomery and the passage of the landmark Voting Rights Act. Passage of the Voting Rights Act was the result of the blood, sweat, and tears of so many brave Americans who marched for justice—and the decades-long work of countless other men and women committed to seeing our country live up to its promise of equality and justice for all. Their actions transformed our Nation. On this 50th anniversary year, we pay special tribute to their legacy, but there is still work to be done. Each generation must contribute to the fight for equality. Each of us must answer the call to move this Nation toward a more perfect union.

In the coming weeks there will be continued celebrations of the passage

of the original Voting Rights Act. Unfortunately, two years ago, the Supreme Court voted to dismantle a core piece of that vital legislation. In *Shelby County v. Holder*, five Republican-appointed justices on the Supreme Court drove a stake through the heart of the Voting Rights Act. Under Section 5 of the Act, the Federal government has the authority to examine and prevent racially discriminatory voting changes from being enacted before those changes disenfranchise voters in covered jurisdictions. By striking down the coverage formula that determined which States and jurisdictions were subject to Federal review, the Court effectively gutted Section 5. And in holding that the formula was based on outdated information, the Roberts Court disregarded thousands of pages of testimony and evidence from nearly 20 congressional hearings held when the law was reauthorized in 2006.

Within weeks of the Supreme Court's devastating ruling, Republican governors and State legislatures exploited the *Shelby County* decision. Several States with a documented history of racial discrimination in voting implemented sweeping laws that disproportionately suppressed the voting rights of minorities, the elderly, and young people.

For example, Texas immediately implemented the most restrictive photo identification law in the country. Although, a Federal judge found the law to be an "unconstitutional poll tax" that could disenfranchise up to 600,000 voters and disproportionately impact African Americans and Latinos, the law was allowed to disenfranchise voters this past election.

In North Carolina, the Republican legislature and Republican governor passed a far-reaching bill that restricted its citizens' right to vote. The bill cut early voting down from 17 days to 10 days, eliminated teenagers' ability to preregister before their 18th birthday, and eliminated same day voter registration. It also enacted a strict photo identification requirement, which is currently being challenged in court.

These are just a few of the numerous discriminatory voting restrictions that have been enacted since *Shelby County* was decided. We cannot sit by as the fundamental right to vote is systematically undermined. We must not retreat from our commitment to civil rights and the great accomplishments we celebrate this year. As my friend Congressman JOHN LEWIS has stated, voting "is the most powerful, nonviolent tool we have to create a more perfect union."

Similarly, in 1962, Martin Luther King, Jr., delivered a speech at the Mother Emanuel Church in Charleston—the scene of the horrific tragedy last week—where he noted that voting rights was the key to achieving the American dream for all. Their statements are as true today as they were fifty years ago, and that is why we

must do all we can to protect that right for all Americans.

I challenge anyone to claim that racial discrimination no longer exists. Even Chief Justice Roberts acknowledged in the Shelby County decision that “voting discrimination still exists; no one doubts that.” The Court further said that Congress may respond with legislation based on current conditions. The bill we introduce today, the Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2015, is that response. It reflects the very real, current conditions that Americans face when trying to participate in our democracy.

We have heard from Americans across the country whose voting rights have been diminished and suppressed since the Shelby County decision. We have also heard from numerous voting rights experts and civil rights leaders who have called for strong legislation that would fully restore the protections gutted by the Court’s decision. The legislation we are introducing today responds to those calls from the grassroots and the community leaders on the ground who are today’s foot soldiers for justice. This bill also represents the hard work and commitment of civil rights organizations like the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, the NAACP, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the Brennan Center for Justice, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Educational Fund, Asian Americans Advancing Justice, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Native American Rights Fund, the Alaska Federation of Natives, the National Congress of American Indians, LatinoJustice, the Advancement Project, and many others. I thank all of these organizations and the tireless individuals who have helped us shape this legislation.

This bill is a voting rights bill for all Americans. It is a bill for the next generation, and helps protect the legacy of the previous generation who fought so hard five decades ago for these voting rights protections.

Under this bill, all States and local jurisdictions are eligible for Section 5 protections under a new coverage formula, which is based on a finding of repeated voting rights violations in the preceding 25 years. Significantly, the 25-year period “rolls” or continuously moves to keep up with “current conditions,” as the Supreme Court stated must be a basis for any new coverage provision. States that have repeated and persistent violations will be covered for a period of 10 years, but if a State establishes a clean record moving forward, it emerges from preclearance coverage. In addition, the existing bailout provision would still be available so that States or local jurisdictions that establish a clean record can also emerge from coverage.

The bill also establishes a nationwide, targeted preclearance process for

a limited set of voting changes that have historically been found to discriminate against minority voters. For example, a racially diverse county that seeks to change a single-member district seat into an at-large seat will require preclearance because that kind of change has historically been used to marginalize minority voters. Racial gerrymandering, annexations that dilute minority voting strength, strict photo identification requirements, reduction of multilingual voting materials, and the elimination of polling locations in jurisdictions that are racially, ethnically, or linguistically diverse, will also receive greater scrutiny under this bill.

Our bill would also improve the Voting Rights Act to allow Federal courts to bail-in specific jurisdictions where the effect of a particular voting change is to deny citizens their right to vote. Under this provision, a Federal court could subject to preclearance any State or local jurisdiction that the court determines violated the Voting Rights Act or any other Federal law that prohibits discrimination in voting on the basis of race, color, or membership in a language minority group.

The bill we introduce today will also ensure that voters are made aware of changes in laws affecting their right to vote. Justice Brandeis once observed that sunlight is the best disinfectant and I believe that applies here as well. Transparency is a strong deterrent to voting discrimination. Under our bill, the public must be notified of late-breaking changes to standards and voting procedures in Federal elections. Information on polling place resource allocation for Federal elections must also be made public, including information about accessibility for persons with disabilities. Finally, information on changes to electoral districts must be made available to the general public. This includes demographic information, to prevent racial gerrymandering, impermissible redistricting, and infringement on minority voters at the Federal, State and local levels.

The bill makes other commonsense improvements, such as amending current law to allow the Attorney General to request Federal observers in those jurisdictions where racial discrimination in voting remains a serious threat. It revises the preliminary injunction standard for voting rights actions to recognize the principle that oftentimes, obtaining relief after the election has already concluded is too late to vindicate the individuals’ voting rights. Thus, such temporary relief may be obtained where the complainant raises a “serious question” that—on balance—the hardship the voting change imposes on the complainant outweighs the hardship imposed upon the state or jurisdiction.

In addition, this bill addresses the unique challenges that Native American and Alaska Native voting populations encounter by: allowing for more

accessible polling locations and voter registration agencies; permitting absentee voting where polling locations are too remote; and ensuring ballots are translated into all written Native languages where current law already requires bilingual voting materials.

We are introducing this bill today because the persistent and evolving forms of voting discrimination require a strong response. I am proud to be joined by so many lawmakers from both sides of the Capitol and all parts of the country. I am joined by Senator DURBIN, who worked with me in 2006 to reauthorize the Voting Rights Act. We are also joined by Senator COONS, Leader REID, all Democratic Senators on the Judiciary Committee, and many others. In addition, the House of Representatives is today introducing a companion bill, led by my friend JOHN LEWIS and leaders of the House Tri-Caucus—Representative TERRI SEWELL of the Congressional Black Caucus, Representative LINDA SANCHEZ of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and Representative JUDY CHU of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus.

I hope that Senate Republicans will join us soon as well. The Voting Rights Act has always been bipartisan. In 2006, when we last reauthorized the Voting Rights Act, I worked closely with the Republican chairmen of the Senate and House Judiciary Committees—former Senator Arlen Specter and Representative JIM SENSENBRENNER. Past reauthorizations have been signed into law by Republican presidents. Yet over the past year, I have not found a Republican in the Senate willing to join me in proposing a meaningful reinstatement of voter protections.

In marking the 50th anniversary of the march in Selma this past March, President Obama issued a call to action on the Voting Rights Act. He observed that: “One hundred members of Congress have come here today to honor people who were willing to die for the right to protect it. If we want to honor this day, let that hundred go back to Washington and gather four hundred more, and together, pledge to make it their mission to restore that law this year. That is how we honor those on this bridge.”

I agree with the President. The best way we can honor those individuals and the countless others who gave so much to make this a more perfect union is not with platitudes or long overdue symbolic gestures. No, we must act—just as they did. We must continue to agitate, to organize, to educate, and to build momentum so that this legislation becomes law. This bill, just as the Voting Rights Act before it, is necessary if we believe in a democracy that reflects our ideals of equality and justice. This legislation will protect the constitutional rights of all Americans and advance the principles of those who marched a generation ago.

Much attention is focused on the Supreme Court this week as it is poised to

hand down decisions that will affect millions of Americans. The decisions of those nine women and men will impact the security of our health care, the sanctity of our marriages and the quality of the air we breathe. What the Supreme Court does matters. Its decisions affect us all. Nowhere in recent years has that been more clear than in its Shelby County decision. That destructive ruling made the fundamental right to vote vulnerable. It is long past time for Congress to respond with meaningful action.

SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

SENATE RESOLUTION 211—EX-PRESSING THE SENSE OF THE SENATE REGARDING SREBRENICA

Mr. CARDIN submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 211

Whereas July 2015 will mark 20 years since the genocide at Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina;

Whereas, beginning in April 1992, aggression and ethnic cleansing perpetrated by Bosnian Serb forces resulted in a massive influx of Bosniaks seeking protection in Srebrenica and its environs, which the United Nations Security Council designated a “safe area” within the Srebrenica enclave in Resolution 819 on April 16, 1993, under the protection of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR);

Whereas the UNPROFOR presence in Srebrenica consisted of a Dutch peacekeeping battalion, with representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the humanitarian medical aid agency Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders) helping to provide humanitarian relief to the displaced population living in conditions of massive overcrowding, destitution, and disease;

Whereas, early in 1995, an intensified blockade of the enclave by Bosnian Serb forces deprived the entire population of humanitarian aid and outside communication and contact, and effectively reduced the ability of the Dutch peacekeeping battalion to deter aggression or otherwise respond effectively to a deteriorating situation;

Whereas, beginning on July 6, 1995, Bosnian Serb forces attacked UNPROFOR outposts, seized control of the isolated enclave, held captured Dutch soldiers hostage and, after skirmishes with local defenders, took control of the town of Srebrenica on July 11, 1995;

Whereas an estimated one-third of the population of Srebrenica at the time, including a relatively small number of soldiers, attempted to pass through the lines of Bosnian Serb forces to the relative safety of Bosnian-government controlled territory, but many were killed by patrols and ambushes;

Whereas the remaining population sought protection with the Dutch peacekeeping battalion at its headquarters in the village of Potocari north of Srebrenica, but many of these individuals were with seeming randomness seized by Bosnian Serb forces to be beaten, raped, or executed;

Whereas Bosnian Serb forces deported women, children, and the elderly in buses, but held over 8,000 primarily Bosniak men and boys at collection points and sites in

northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control, and then summarily executed these captives and buried them in mass graves;

Whereas Bosnian Serb forces, hoping to conceal evidence of the massacre at Srebrenica, subsequently moved corpses from initial mass grave sites to many secondary sites scattered throughout parts of eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control;

Whereas the International Commission for Missing Persons (ICMP) deserves recognition for its assistance to the relevant institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina in accounting for close to 90 percent of those individuals reported missing from Srebrenica, despite active attempts to conceal evidence of the massacre, through the careful excavation of mass graves sites and subsequent DNA analysis which confirmed the true extent of the massacre;

Whereas the massacre at Srebrenica was among the worst of many atrocities to occur in the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina from April 1992 to November 1995, during which the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing pursued by Bosnian Serb forces with the direct support of the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic and its followers ultimately led to the displacement of more than 2,000,000 people, more than 100,000 killed, tens of thousands raped or otherwise tortured and abused, including at concentration camps in the Prijedor area, with the innocent civilians of Sarajevo and other urban centers repeatedly subjected to traumatic shelling and sniper attacks;

Whereas, in addition to being the primary victims at Srebrenica, individuals with Bosniak heritage comprise the vast majority of the victims during the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole, especially among the civilian population;

Whereas Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines genocide as “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group”;

Whereas, on May 25, 1993, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 827 establishing the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), based in The Hague, the Netherlands, and charging the ICTY with responsibility for investigating and prosecuting individuals suspected of committing war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions on the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991;

Whereas the ICTY, along with courts in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in Serbia, has indicted and in most cases convicted approximately three dozen individuals at various levels of responsibility for grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, violations of the laws or customs of war, crimes against humanity, genocide, and complicity in genocide associated with the massacre at Srebrenica, most notably Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, whose trials are ongoing;

Whereas both the ICTY and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) have ruled that the actions of Bosnian Serb forces in Srebrenica in July 1995 constitute genocide;

Whereas House Resolution 199 (109th Congress), passed on June 27, 2005, expressed the

sense of the House of Representatives that the aggression and ethnic cleansing committed by Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina meets the terms defining genocide according to the 1949 Genocide Convention;

Whereas the United Nations has largely acknowledged its failure to fulfill its responsibility to take actions and make decisions that could have deterred the assault on Srebrenica and prevented the subsequent genocide from occurring;

Whereas some prominent Serbian and Bosnian Serb officials, among others, have denied or at least refused to acknowledge that the massacre at Srebrenica constituted a genocide, or have sought otherwise to trivialize the extent and importance of the massacre; and

Whereas the international community, including the United States, has continued to provide personnel and resources, including through direct military intervention, to prevent further aggression and ethnic cleansing, to negotiate the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (initialed in Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, 1995, and signed in Paris on December 14, 1995), and to help ensure its fullest implementation, including cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia as well as reconciliation among all of Bosnia and Herzegovina's citizens: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) affirms that the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing as implemented by Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 meet the terms defining the crime of genocide in Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide;

(2) condemns statements that deny or question that the massacre at Srebrenica constituted a genocide;

(3) urges the Atrocities Prevention Board, a United States interagency committee established by the President in 2012, to study the lessons of Srebrenica and issue informed guidance on how to prevent similar incidents from recurring in the future, paying particular regard to troubled countries, including Syria, the Central African Republic and Burundi;

(4) encourages the United States to maintain and reaffirm its policy of supporting the independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, peace and stability in southeastern Europe as a whole, and the right of all people living in the region, regardless of national, racial, ethnic or religious background, to return to their homes and enjoy the benefits of democratic institutions, the rule of law, and economic opportunity, as well as to know the fate of missing relatives and friends;

(5) recognizes the achievement of the International Commission for Missing Persons (ICMP) in accounting for those missing in conflicts or natural disasters around the world and believes that the ICMP deserves justified recognition for its assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina and its relevant institutions in accounting for approximately 90 percent of those reported missing after the Srebrenica massacre and 70 percent of those reported missing during the whole of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina;

(6) welcomes the arrest and transfer to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) of all persons indicted for war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, particularly those of Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, which has helped strengthen peace and encouraged reconciliation between the countries of the region and their citizens;